MASAI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

539 No. 10. Epuo [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
They go to the nations all the ends.
Everything has an end.

No. 11. [illegible] [illegible] anaa [illegible].
They come the events like the days.
Events follow one another like days.

No. 12. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
They come the actions (or the arrows) by the hind legs.
This has a double meaning. Actions come by the use of the legs, and if arrows come, there are legs behind them.

[Long marches are inevitable before a raid can be successfully accomplished; and arrows are not fired without a person being there to fire them.]

No. 13. [illegible] anaa [illegible]
He separates himself like the sick one (or dead)
[illegible] [illegible].
of the donkey one.
He separates himself from his friends like a sick (or dead) donkey.

[A sick donkey stands apart from his fellow animals, and a dead donkey is thrown away. This saying is used when referring to a man who stands aloof from his companions.]

No. 14. [illegible] [illegible] o [illegible].
They are similar defeats and death.
Being defeated and dying are the same.

No. 15. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
It resembles the cow one the head of the man.
A cow is as good as a man.

[If a man has a cow, and looks after it, he obtains riches, for the cow bears, and with the calves he is able to purchase a wife.]
596

No. 16. [illegible] [illegible].
Hide ye the mouthfuls of food.
[One should not disclose one's secret thoughts any more than one shows the food one is eating.]

No. 17. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
He has become the sinew of the hyena.
He is like a hyena's sinew.

[A man who refuses to admit himself beaten is likened to a hyena's sinew, which is said to be tougher than that of any other animal.]

En-giyama.

Ore [illegible]

Ore g' [illegible]

Ore g' [illegible]

Ore pe [illegible]

Ore [illegible]

Ore g' [illegible]

[illegible]

Marriage[1].

When a Masai wishes to marry he commences his courtship by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting some tobacco to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father at his daughter's circumcision.

On the young woman's recovery the man proceeds to his future father-in-law's kraal, and takes with him the dowry, viz. three heifers and two bullocks, one of the latter being said to keep the heifers company, whilst the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. His sister also takes a pot of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the heifers is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pakiteng, i.e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ewe he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pakerr, i.e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

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[1] Formerly no Masai was able to marry until he had been an [illegible], but nowadays they leave the ranks of the warriors (il-muran) and settle down as married men (il-moruak) at a comparatively early age.

685

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Crimes: Theft.

If a Masai steals milk, or meat, or other small things, he is not fined.

Grown up people, however, rarely steal; it is the boys who take the milk and meat, &c.

Whilst the Masai do not consider it wrong to steal trifles of this nature, they dislike immensely having their cattle stolen.

Should any warriors steal an ox and be caught by the owner, they would have to pay; and if three men took part in the theft, each would have to pay three bullocks.

In the event of the owner following up the thieves and catching them in the act of slaughtering the stolen animal, one of the warriors might see him and call out "Guilty,"* in which case he would not be fined heavily. Whilst the others would be fined in bullocks, he who had cried "Guilty" would only have to pay a young bull. Were all of them to say "Guilty," they would all be fined in young bulls.

736
587

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Seduction.

If a warrior causes a woman to conceive, he marries her.

When a warrior loves a woman very much, he frequently seduces her to enable him to take her as wife.

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* [illegible]

Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being [illegible] or [illegible], as the case may be, are [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible]; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another [illegible]; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her [illegible]. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term [illegible] when speaking to one another the two women say [illegible]; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another [illegible]; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is [illegible]. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between sons of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another [illegible] instead of [illegible] and [illegible]; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer and the two call one another [illegible]; and paternal cousins often use the terms [illegible] or [illegible] when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: [illegible], the bullock or the cow; [illegible], the bullock; [illegible], the cows; [illegible], the bull; [illegible], the heifer; [illegible], the bull calf; [illegible], the calf; [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible], the he-goat; [illegible], the she-goat; [illegible], the kid; [illegible], the ewe; [illegible], the ram; [illegible], the donkey; [illegible], the ewe lamb; [illegible], the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another [illegible], because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him [illegible], and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms [illegible], etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are [illegible] and [illegible]. These presents have nothing to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

A maternal uncle ([illegible]) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do so. A father and any old men of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

833 sweetheart (*o-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'atten* and *en-e-'atten*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.¹

581 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children
●583 which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control
837 over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised,
[834 sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one
835] age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

835 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a
684 man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ar eng-anyit*).

843 A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as
853 she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the
[856] child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of
682 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to
684 abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kishuroto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty
833 person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, trampling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834
276 Other occasions when the men may not have sexual intercourse are when

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[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 287. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look fiendish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

● 583 885 [304] Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart. The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. [302] Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the [301] appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal 585 veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was 885 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

837 885 [842] And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 262 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

995 number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased [592] brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, [152] and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are [836 837] communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its [592] extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact occasions general conversation. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual ●[582] dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

162 995 The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		*Simanjiro*		*Engassumat*		*Longido*		*Total*	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	62	62	50	50	134	134	311	311
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	66	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	263	224	135	138	346	285	979	880

Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to hamstring and maim all his cattle.

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 5 as far as the woman is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse.

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is hamstrung and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :—

3 Heifers.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is anointed with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

PART VI.—FAMILY LIFE.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called [illegible] by the young man.

Marriage.—The moran may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and he cannot usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. [illegible][1] in which a moran cannot have sexual intercourse with his betrothed wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. [illegible]) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to ensue if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law Mother-in-law Son-in-law Daughter-in-law	Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *[illegible]*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *[illegible]*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyaenas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

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[1] See p. [illegible] of this volume.

[illegible]

Betrothal

[illegible]

Regulation of Marriage

[illegible]

Bridewealth

[illegible]

Marriage

[illegible]

[illegible]

/97 cont./

601 The designations [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] are used only as long as the above-mentioned words of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of [illegible] [illegible], because the girl is not in a position to make the customary gift of livestock.

[illegible] The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with [illegible] [illegible] of any child. The address for the grandchildren runs [illegible] [illegible], for the grandmother [illegible]. The grandchildren calls the grandfather [illegible] [illegible], the grandmother, [illegible] [illegible]. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

99.

Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Bantu neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) --

1. The so-called monogamy of the Wachagga is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes into the family of her /66/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

[illegible]

to the contemplative silence of the married man. But before the marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price ([illegible] = the things, each part of them, [illegible] = the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and so on. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, the [illegible] bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other [illegible] (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, II, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other [illegible] from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon the two call each other [illegible], from the eldest child of her husband two goats or sheep, hence the address [illegible], and from the smaller children of her to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible] is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief [illegible] he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whenever the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his elder sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

[36 cont.]

[illegible] not alone, however, but with the support of a friend. The heavy pot is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary, but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered nothing. [584] Wealthy people often also pay up to five cows more than usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded. Beauties, as well as daughters of distinguished people, that is, of wealthy and influential people, often bring above the [583] average price. The price for childless widows and for childless, divorced women is the same as for young girls. For a widow who bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc., wife, just as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is in part deferred for the bridegroom, the woman nevertheless passes into his possession provisionally, and likewise the children born before the final settlement of the bride price belong to him. [586] If, however, he does obstinately refuse to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law has the right to take back the daughter with her children in exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. [584] In [36/] some lineages, however, there still prevails a — as it seems — formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does not have the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride price, but usually do so if it is necessary. The bride does not get a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his parents or parents-in-law. [illegible] If one of the betrothed dies before the marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price that was paid is returned. If the husband turns the wife out or the marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

[illegible]

father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them. In this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a [illegible] head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of [illegible], but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does [illegible]. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her parental home as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one [illegible] remains to the bridegroom: to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consummated a union, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the [illegible] lineages and [illegible] do not have this possibility of self-help. In both lineages [illegible] believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 30 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of [illegible], have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, [illegible] a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further presumption that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

[illegible]

by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter III of this part.

([illegible]) or to his age-class association ([illegible]). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the elder brothers, younger sisters not before the elder sisters, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the latter are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appears. A marriage between foster brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that contemporaneity is seen, and wives of a man may not be contemporaneously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

Widows ([illegible], [illegible]) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in wealth is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/P. [illegible]/

[illegible] of grass (ol pokitarash), into the foam of which she sticks an ostrich feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom

[583] of the es siangiki (pl. is siangikin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- knows that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcision years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls; as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter, rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

[562] Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

[illegible] As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasures; far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aiyoni, pl. ol aiyok); during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called ol sipolioi (pl. ol sipolio). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnoti (pl. ol barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, ol murani (pl. ol moran). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 25-30 in order to get married and, as ol moruo (ol moruak),

/30 cont./

[illegible] o for the night. Then captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not indiscriminately; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and fed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as [illegible]. But

[illegible] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few

[illegible] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of

[illegible] the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal. In the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the [illegible] is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, [illegible], because men fell on both sides. Other names are

[illegible] [illegible] if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruits; [illegible] if the [illegible] suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; [illegible], formed from the call [illegible], that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying

[illegible] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

[illegible]

Pl. 41. On picket duty.

[P.111 cont.]

439 designate the first one as an olige na tihen, i.e., cow cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the [illegible] they call an olige lak, i.e., coloured cloth, and the genets, of [illegible].

443 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [816] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only intimate acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

447/448 The creditor proceeds against a recalcitrant debtor first by complaints, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay; a need that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [577] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [526] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [591] Since the creditor, even in this case, [P.113] pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [572] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for [illegible] He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village ([illegible]).

[illegible] The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

[illegible] 3.1 Villages: Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called bomas or (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer circular thorn fence with a number of gates, one for each Masai elder. Within the fence there are a number of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the boma each night for protection from man and from [illegible] predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

[illegible] When a Masai marries, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left.